The Case of the KINGDOM STATED,

According to the Proper Interests of the severall Parties ENGAGED.

I. *Touching the* Interest *of the* KING *and his* Party.
II. *The* Interest *of the* Presbyterian Party.
III. *The* Interest *of the* Independent Party.
IV. *The* Interest *of the Citie of* LONDON.
V. *The* Interest *of* SCOTLAND, *not extant before now.*

A peece of rare Observation and Contexture; wherin all men are equally Concerned.

The Third *Edition*, with Addition by the Author *M. Needham*

Dulce, & decorum est pro Patriâ.

BIBL. CANT. ICOR.

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To the KING.

SIR,

AFter so many storms I know you would willingly attain the wished Haven, but then you must imbarque a new, and not in the old Shipwrack't design. And since it is no Flattery to wish you well, for your own sake, and many others, pray take this Pamphlet to steer your course by, and account him as good a friend to your self and the Kingdom, as any you have bin acquainted with these seven yeers, who first delivers it into your hands: For, I am confident, were you abroad among your old Councell, you should not reap so much of the truth of your Interest, as you may in these poor sheets, which are but the Gleanings of observation.

To the PRESBYTERS.

Sweet SIRS: Let not your Jealousie accuse this Paper of a Plot against the State: Truly I have added your Interest out of pitty to your condition, that since you cannot attain your Jure divino, you may (at least) open your eyes, and preserve your selves (if you please) in a handsome equipage, Jure humano.

To the INDEPENDENTS.

FRIENDS: You who are Listed more immediatly under the Prince of Peace, ought not so to prosecute your Interest, as to begin a War upon it; but only to remain on the defensive till your just Liberty be confirmed, and the Prince's due right restored, since Conscience must needs remain quieter, where the power is invested in one King, than in an Hydra of Presbyters. Above all things you must not be Anti-parliamentary, but exercise wisdome with patience, and the countenance of that Authority cannot long be wanting: A word to the wise.

To the CITY.

SIRS: My desire is, that you may flourish, which cannot be, unlesse you minde only your peculiar Interest of Trade. If you resolve to live and die with Presbytery, consider that you can ill Bandy against the other two Parties, since it cannot be unknown, that they are the major part of your selves. A City divided against it self cannot stand.

To the SCOTS.

Friends and Confederates: Take this brief draught of your Interest, wherewith I here present you, with the same Ingenuity and Candor, that I wrote it. God shall bear me record, that I lay nothing open here, with intent to work division, it being contrary to my obligation by Covenant; but onely to satisfie the world in truth concerning you, and your selves in what concerns your own happinesse, safety, and advantage, by a wise demeanour, in order to the Conservation of Peace in these Kingdoms. Honi soit qui mal y pense.

And now (Gentlemen) but one word more to all: I suppose none can take just offence, since I state the Interests of all indifferently, pointing out to each the way to advance and preserve their own Party, and I shall commend to them what the Duke of Rohan saith of the States of Europe, that according as they follow their proper Interests, they thrive or faile in Successes, so the Parties now on Foot in this Kingdom, must looke to stand or fall upon the same Ground.

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The Caſe of the Kingdom ſtated, &c.

Firſt, touching the Intereſt of the KING *and his Partie.*

THE *King* (as the caſe lately ſtood with *him*) was a very *Priſoner*; and ſo being fallen from the height of *fortune*, muſt remit much of the height of his *deſigne*; and what hath been loſt by *bandying*, he ought to *Salve* by a wary *Compliance*. That *this* he may effect in a ſhort time is very probable, ſince what *Machiavell* ſets downe as a ſure *Principle* towards the purchaſe of *Empire* is acted ready to his *hands*, by the mutuall expence of *Spleene* in his *oppoſites* againſt each other: ſo that all he hath to doe is to ſit *ſtill*, to *foment* and *blow* the Fire, and give the *humours* time to *toyle*, till being tyred in *extreames* there appeare a *neceſſity* of one *Third* to reſt in, (which can be no other but himſelfe;) and then his onely *Intereſt* will be, to *cloſe* with that *Party* which gives moſt *hope* of *Indulgence* to his *Prerogative*, & greateſt probability of *favor* to his *Friends*. That neither of theſe can be expected from the *Presbyterian*, is evident for many *Reaſons*: And firſt touching the *Prerogative*, their *Government* in the nature of it *derogates* not onely from the *Civill* in *generall*, but carries with it a more ſpeciall enmity againſt *Monarchie*; ſo that they which intend to *found* the one, muſt *raze* the *Fundamentals* of the other in any *Kingdome* whatſoever. *Politique* aſſertions of this kinde ſhould be ſtrengthned by Obſervations out of Hiſtory: But the *tender* age of this *Upſtart Hierarchy* and the *Little* entertainment it hath found in the *World*, yeelds us nothing of moment to obſerve, unleſſe in our own *Iſland*. For if we looke abroad, we finde it but ſtragling up and downe in *France* and *Germany*, and in ſuch *places* onely as acknowledge *little* or *none* at all of *Kingly* power; ſo that *Scotland* is the onely *viſible* Kingome where this *Peſt* is *Epidemicall*, and it was (firſt) *Scotch* Charity to *Baptize* it as *Chriſtian*, into the name and priviledge of a *Nationall Forme*. This was done during the minority of King *James*, when the *Lords* and *Clergie* ruling all as they *liſted*, at length *parted ſtakes* (though the *Clergie* then got, and ſtill hold the better) that when He came to age, he found the Fable of *Ixion's Juno* moralized upon himſelfe; for as he inſtead of a *Goddeſſe* imbraced a *Cloud*; ſo the *King*, when he thought to graſp his *Scepter*, laid hold on a *Manacle*, which kept his hands ſo faſt, during his abode there, that he could never Act but when they pleaſed to let him, according to their own *Directory* of *Kirk* and State: And in proceſſe of time this heat of *Presbytery* proved ſuch an

Hellique in the body *Politique* of *Scotland*, that the Substance of *Kingly power* was utterly consumed, and nothing left (as we see at this day) but the bare bones, the very *Skeleton* of a *Monarchie*; Witnesse the unlimited power of the *Convention of Estates*, and *Generall Assembly*, but especially of this latter, which (like to the Rod of *Aaron*) is in such a budding, thriving condition, that it hath devoured the Rod of *Moses*, as his did the Magicians of *Ægypt*, and proves a Scourge to the *Magistracie* and *People*. This is a sufficient *Instance* (being also the onely one in the World) to manifest the *Antipathie* betwixt a *National Presbytery*, and the *civill* power of *Common weales* and *Kingdomes*, wherein whosoever desires further satisfaction, needs doe no more but take a strict survey of their owne Bookes of *Discipline*.

Secondly, touching the *Kings Friends* [which are of two Sorts, *viz.* the *Bishops* and their *Clergie*, the *Courtiers* with the *Gentry*,] they must expect lesse from the *Presbyter* than the King himselfe may: For, as They would leave the *King* nothing but a *name* without *Substance*, so they will allow the *Bishops* neither Name nor *Substance*, and inslave the *Gentry* in their own *Lordships* by a new way of *parochiall Tyrannie*: For, if so be they *conforme* not, then they must expect in a short time to see the meanest of their *Tenants* become their *Masters* in judicature, and so what *Solomon* cals a great *Vanitie*, will be a *Prime mystery* in this new *Government*.

Hence, then we may conclude, that the Kings *Interests* lead him to close rather with the other party (called *Independent*) as the onely means to free *him* and his *friends*, from the former *Inconveniences*, and that for these following *Reasons*.

First, because they are the onely friends to *Civil* government in the *World*, leaving it wholly in the hands of the *Magistrate*; pleading *exemption* in nothing but their *Church-way*: Whereas the *Presbyters* claim not onely a distinct power in *Church-affaires* [as you may read in that *Branch* of the *Synods* late *confession* which speakes of *Church censures*] but they borrow also so much from the *Magistrate*, as will inable them to *compell* mens Consciences: And so under this cunning *Pretence*, that the *Magistrate* is bound to use or lend his power to support their *arbitrary constitutions* [the Proofes whereof they Fish out of the *Judicials* of *Moses*, and some places of the *Gospell* misapplyed in some of their *Articles*] lurkes the great *Mystery of Iniquity*, whereby They gaine a power even over the *Magistrate* himselfe, who in this case must use the *sword* (for *conscience* sake) wheresoever they please to *Advise* or *Command* him: And so both *King* and *Parliament* must give way, and *compell* others to submit, to

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whatsoever they shall ordain in their *Generall Assembly*, as *for the well-governing of the Church.*

Secondly; because it is easie for the *King* to mingle *Interests* with the *Independents*, and oblige them with that which is denyed them by the *Presbyter*, viz. *Liberty of conscience*: In which Particular he ought also to pretend great tenderneſſe, it being his *owne* case at present to suffer by many pressing *Importunities*, to take the *Covenant*, and passe things of high Importance wherein he is not satisfied, the refusall whereof upon *Scruple* of *Conscience* is the only cause of his *non-accesse* to the Parliament.

Thirdly, because the *Independent* Principles lead them to admit rather of *Monarchy* than any other *Government*, as being that under which they presume of greater *Inlargements*, than when *Many* rule; who are usually most apt to gratifie a faction in the *Nationall Church* with accruments of worldly pomp and power, the better to support their own in the *State*.

Fourthly, Here is a doore of Hope opened this way for the *Bishops* and their *Clergie*, with all that are for the *Liturgie* and that Government, Whereas, if *Presbytrie* take place in a *Nationall mode*, then there will be *Form* against their *Form*, and *Policy* against their *Policie*, which when it shall be actually twisted with that of the *State*, can never be removed without length of time and extreme difficulty. Where observe by the way, how it was ever the *grand* mystery which *Satan* set on work in the hearts of those who glory in that usurped *Title* of *Clergie*; first to introduce a *plausible*, *politique*, *prudentiall* way of Government in the *Church*, as the only *pattern brought out of the Mount*; then to gain it a sure being and repute with men, they were wont to take in some of the power of the *World* to countenance it, and force a Submission thereto by all, under the *old specious* pretext of *Decency*, *Conformity*, and *Order*; and lastly to make all fast, the Custome was to mingle *Interests* with the *State* or the *Prince* [as the *Bishops* lately did with our *Kings*, and the *Presbyters* doe now with some *great Ones* and the *City*] and so their *Fundamentalls* being once poys'd with the others, then whosoever shall presume to move the one, must shake the other; and presently incurre the *brand* of seditious disturbers of *States* and Kingdomes; Which hath been no meane artifice of the *Devill* [in all times] to uphold his Kingdom in the hearts of men, against the Kingdom of *Christ*. In this Particular the *Bishops* and *Presbyters* have been alike faulty; But if these have time to supplant the *Bishops* [as they are in a fair way] and over-act them at their owne *game*, They are left for ever without remedy. But

Fifthly, by an immediate *Close* with the *Independent*, and abandoning

that curſed Principle of *univerſall Compulſion*, as well in opinion as practiſe, ſince there is a numerous ſort of people in the *Kingdom*, that will not be ſatisfied, without the old *external* Form of *Dioceſan* & *Liturgie*; it's clear then, that *Independents* may help to Inſtate Them in that *Forme* again, upon ſome viſible aſſurance, that themſelves ſhall be left at *Liberty*, rather then be trodden down, by a *Mornivall* [or two] of *Tyrants* [no leſſe monſtrous [perhaps] for *Ignorance*, than pride] in every *parochiall Inquiſition*.

The laſt Reaſon is, becauſe the Kings *Union* with this party may ſo abate the fury of the *Presbiter*, that (whether *Peace* or *War* enſue) thoſe of the *Court*, *Councell*, *and Gentry* excepted from pardon, and the reſt that have not yet *Compounded*, cannot continue long at this diſtance, without ſome, *probable* hope, That Humors altering, and by the mediation of ſome the reſt being brought to a more *moderate temper*, it may be no hard matter to reconcile *all* within the Limits of an *Act of Oblivion*.

And ſo for theſe Reaſons *I conceive, we may bolaly affirme, That ſince the* King *hath no hope of remedy from his* Friends *here at home, or abroad, his true* Intereſt *at preſent is by ſome meanes or other, to cloſe with that Partie in this* Kingdome *which they call* Independent.

The *Intereſt* of the *Presbyter and his Party*.

PResbiterie was no ſooner born at *Geneva*, but it was *nurſt* up here in *England* in the *Wiſhes* of many, as *Heir apparent* of *Epiſcopacie*, For it's uſuall ever in all wordly *Church-reformations* (as well as thoſe of the *State*) to finde ſome men, either out of *conſcience or envy*, diſaffected to the ſettled Government: Out of *Envy*, when they miſſe of that *Preferment* which they expected by a *change*; out of *conſcience*, when they ſee a greater glory of *Light* and *Purity* beyond it, and therefore will not live by it, but beſide it, or above it; The truth whereof *Experience* hath told us in all the degrees of *Reformation* in this *Kingdom*, from *Popery* to *Prelacie*, from the *Biſhop* to the *Presbyter*: And I ſhall willingly allow the *Presbyters* (who reckon themſelves for the *old Puritans* of *England*) ſo much charity, as to think their *diſaffection* proceeded meerly from a conſcience *well-informed*, becauſe I obſerve now an *Impreſſa* of divine glory and excellency in many of their *Practiſes*; But yet I would have them to know, that They are not yet come to Mount *Zion*, till they be able to prove the *Chaire* of a generall *Aſſembly* the very *Throne* of *Chriſt*: And except they ſhew all the lineaments of their Government derived *naturally* from *Scripture*, it will fright mens *Conſciences* and make Them diſclaim it for a monſter: For, the *Diſcipline* now contended for, is (as was the

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Biſhops) but externall, *prudentiall*, matter of Form and Policy, and it is look't upon as ſo much the more *intolerable*, if rigidly preſt, by how much it opens a far *wider* gap for *Tyranny*; becauſe if the *Biſhops* made us grone under 24 *Dioceſſes*, and but one *High-Commiſſion*, what will become of us under almoſt 10000 *Presbyteries*, beſide the *Torment* of *Claſſes*, *Provinciall Junto's Synods*, and *Aſſemblies*? Were they able to prove one of them *Scripturall*, it were a little honeſter *bandying* againſt men of different judgement, but ſince the continuation of that *ridiculous Plea* for a *Jus Divinum* with *compulſive* power, can gain nothing but *hatred* from both the other *parties*, and muſt of neceſſity by *diſobliging* their *friends* increaſe the number of their enemies, and in time *exaſperate* both ſo far, that nothing will ſatisfie but an abolition of the *new Form* as *immoderate*, and a reeſtabliſhing the *old*, upon more aſſurance of *liberty*: Therefore the onely *Intereſt* of the *Presbyters* is to allow the *Independents* their liberty of *Church-way*, to eſteem them as *Brethren*, and not to make difference in *circumſtantials*, a ground for *perſecution*. And this I ſhall further illuſtrate by reaſon. Firſt, it's as much *madneſſe* to perſecute men, becauſe they are not like us in *opinion*, as it were to quarrell with them when they reſemble us not, in outward complexion. For, ſince we loſt perfection in *Adam*, what ever *knowledge* we attain to now, is either *morall*, by the improving of naturall indowments; or elſe *Divine*, which is an influence from *Heaven* upon the *Soul*: For the former, we are beholden mediatly to the bounty of *Nature* and our own *Induſtry*; for the latter, immediatly to God. Therefore where we ſee any *weaker* in judgement then our *ſelves*, we ought to look upon them as *deplorable*, rather then *damnable*. Vain man! What made the difference betwixt thee and thy *weak* Brother? did not *Free-grace*? For, *what haſt thou that thou didſt not receive? and God may reveal it to him alſo in due time*. Secondly, the deſign of *Conformity* or *Uniformity* in the *Church*, hath been, and is the grand *Cheat* whereby the *Devil* makes men run a madding; and though it ever pretend a plauſible *end* of Cementing the *State* againſt *Diviſion*, yet pull off its *Viſard*, and you ſhall finde it to be both the *Mother* and *Nurſe* of all *Diviſion* (as it ever was) throughout all *Europe* in matters of Religion: The witchcrafts of this *Jezebel* [it is] that trouble our *Iſrael*. For, it is againſt common ſenſe and reaſon to expect, that ever men will be one in opinion (the *Heathen* ſaid, *Quot Capita, tot Senſus*,) ſo that thoſe which endeavour it ſeem to me, as if they meant to impriſon *Æolus* and all his *Sons* [*the* 32 *winds*] in a Bag (as it is ſaid of the *Laplanders*) ſince *Opinion* blows from every point of the *Compaſſe*: And as a confinement of the *Wind* torments *Nature* with an Earth-quake, ſo to rob

the *Soul* of its Freedom (which is far more agile and diffusive) must needs cause a *Colick* (with inflammation) in the bowels of a Kingdom. And therefore till *Uniformity-mongers* be pointed at as the only Enemies of a *State*, and this wicked perswasion be wrought out of the hearts of men, that they ought to make all men walk that way *par force* which their *Priests* cry up for the right; till men be lesse in the *Letter* that they may be *one* in the *Spirit* (which none but the *Spirituall* can apprehend) and untill they leave crying, *Fire from Heaven* against *Brethren in the Faith*, we shall alwayes have the Kingdom in a *Flame*, and (perhaps) *themselves* may be the first in *Ashes*. Thirdly, men under *oppression* (though sometime wise enough) become *mad*, and usually trample down all *Relations* to make way for a *deliverer*, that gives hope of the least remedy, and as the condition of *Being* alters, so all men do vary their *Interests*, and Principles. Fourthly, if a *rigid* course should be prosecuted, and so a *Breach* be made betwixt those who (for the major part) are *one* by *Solemn Covenant*, the *Independent* having that invincible Plea of *Se defendendo* on his side, the whole *Scandall* will retort upon the *Presbyter*: And if it be objected that the *Independent* occasions the *Breach*, by opposing the Letter of the Covenant for an *uniform* Reformation, I answer, that the Covenant in its *extent* hath this *ultimate* Limitation, viz. *according to the Word of God*: No otherwise; The whole resolves into that, as being all in all. And then, if both Parties be reduced to that *Rule*, let God and good men judge (for the World cannot) whose will be the *Breach*. Lastly, a Moderate Condescention in the *Presbyter* will by keeping the other from extremes stop all new designs, and when there is more of the Spirit of Love in their proceedings, they will draw lesse of Enmity. It will for ever confirm a Brotherly Union, which must prevent the forenamed Insinuations of the Royall and Episcopall Party, and prove a Bulwark within, and a Wall of Brasse about the Nation. From whence I once again infer, the sole Interest of the Presbyters is, to counter-work the *King* in his Interest, as their *grand* opposite, by complying with the Independent, and it ought to be their wisdom to look upon all men and Counsells in their own Party, [whether of the *Purple* or *Sable* robe] that Thunder in the behalf of a *rigid* Presbytery, as very Malignants, lurking among them under pretence of a *Reformation* to draw in the lesse wise and more worldly fiery *Zelots*, to Act for that Party under a disguise which they pretend most to hate, and by Fulminating against our *fast friends*, as *Heretiques* and *Schismatiques*, &c. to shipwrack us in the Haven, and *Casse* all the successes of this Parliament by *Division*.

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The *Intereſt* of the *Independent Party.*

AS *Presbytery* is the *Rivall* of *Epiſcopacy*, ſo *Independency* being of an higher *Strain*, than to admit of humane *prudence* in *Church-Government*, her Principles ſtand indifferent towards either of them, as may ſerve moſt for her *owne* advantage. Both the other take in ſome of the *wiſdome*, and much of the *power* of the world, and ſo ſhare with the *Kingdomes* of the world, to make up a *Church*, whereby they draw the *world* after them, becauſe the way is ſo ſutable to *worldly reaſon*; thus *carnall* men will ever be for a *carnall* Church: But *Independents* affirme the *Church* ought to be a *ſpirituall* building, framed of ſuch *lively ſtones* as are not of the *World*, nor of the wiſedome of the *World*, but founded only upon the wiſedome of *God*, revealed in the word by his *Spirit*, which they eſteeme ſufficient to conſtitute and maintain a *Church*, without any aſſiſtance from the Kingdomes of the *world*, whoſe power they leave *entire* unto themſelves.

The Summ is this: both *Biſhops* and *Presbyters* by their Church-policy, ſtand *Competitors* with the *Magiſtrate*, and *Independents* leave all to him, ſave only the *Kingdom* of *Chriſt*, which (if you will take his own word) is not of this *world*, and ſo can be no trouble to it, unleſs *His* be firſt troubled by it.

By this deſcription then it appears, that the Government contended for by the other two is but *meer* Policie: and ſince their *Politicks* render them utterly irreconcileable, *Independencie* (which owns no Policie) becomes the *ballancing power* betwixt them: And as it behoves either of the two, to ſtrive to weigh down the other, by a timely Cloſe with *It*, So the only *Intereſt* of *Independency* is to embrace that party where an *union* procures moſt *Indulgence* and little or no *ſcandal*; which I conceive may be expected rather from the *Royall Epiſcopall* party, then the other, upon theſe following *Grounds*.

Firſt, Though principles of *Faith* ſhould ſway the *Presbyters*, to *brotherly amity* with the *Independent*, yet by their driving ſo furiouſly upon terms of diſcipline, and through their eagernes upon uniformity *in the Letter*, ſlighting that glorious *unity in the Spirit*, (which is the very life of Chriſtian profeſſion) they give little hope of favour, but rather expectation of a *fiery Tryall*, ſeeing they begin to heat *the Furnace* already.

Secondly, though *Biſhops* ſtand at a great diſtance; Yet ſetting aſide that groſſe mixture of *Ceremonies*) their diſcipline were far more tolerable, notwithſtanding they had power to exerciſe it to the utmoſt with compulſion, becauſe Tyranny cannot be ſo great in the hands of *few*, as *many*, So that if hereafter (in caſe *Presbytery* be ſetled) our former plagues be not a thouſand times trebled upon us, we muſt acknowledge our preſent freedom, only to the *courteſie* and goodnes of our *Taskmaſters*: But if *corrupt times* come on [as who can aſſure us they will not, ſince the old *myſtery of iniquity* is now in the world under a new *Forme*;] What then will become of our poſterity, when the yoake ſhall be faſtned to our necks by an *Act of Parliament*?

Thirdly, though the *Epiſcopall* are enemies to both *Presbyters* and *Independents*, yet conſidering theſe have been extream civill in uſing their victo-

ries, and may now moſt oblige them in their *loweſt* condition: and it being poſſible that both their intereſts may ſtand together (with *diſcretion*) entire, then if Biſhops quit the exorbitant *compulſive* power, and the King give aſſurance againſt it *for liberty of Conſcience*, the enmity betwixt him and the *Independent* may be ſoon extinguiſhed.

Fourthly, there can be no ſcandall to the *Independent*, by ſuch an *union of intereſts*, ſince the Woe-following ſcandall belongs to them alway, by whom the grounds of Scandall are neceſſitated. And therefore that the *Scandall* may clearely report upon *Presbyter* (as I proved before it muſt) the *Independent* ought not to admit of a *Breach* till the *Red Dragon* begin to play *Rex*, till the *Whore* prepares to *dye her Scarlet a new, and the pale Horſe of impriſonment and exile* threaten a Range about the Streets.

Laſtly, though this diſcovery of *Intereſt* may ſeem to portend ruine to the *Parliament*, yet it is far otherwiſe: For *Independents* ought not to looke upon it ſo, as to neglect them in whoſe *priviledges* and ſafety all *Liberty* is involved: But with all tenderneſſe to have regard unto them, as the onely *Rampire* againſt all kinds of *Tyranny*, ſince all proceedings thence againſt them as *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks* &c. are actuated only by ſome particular men, whoſe deſignes being laid *in the darke*, Time alone muſt diſcover: But that which will crowne *Independent* Intereſt [and which is indeed true *Parliamentary* Intereſt, though *Presbyterians* drive another way] is, to reconcile the King upon ſuch *honourable* Termes, that as he and they are in *all reaſon* obliged to down with the *Dagon* of a rigid *Presbytery*, ſo the ingagement may be managed with ſuch *Caution*, for the ſafety of the *Parliament*, and aſſurance of *Liberty* in time to come, as may remove all *Iealouſies* and lay a ſure foundation for a *laſting Peace*.

The *Intereſt* of the City of *London*.

THis City bears the name of the *Metropolis* of *England*, the *Royall Chamber*, the grand *Emporium*, the *univerſall Exchange* for Traffick; ſo that her ſole *Intereſt* is a free *Trade*, whereby having acquired large *Demeſnes* in all Parts, ſhe maintaines a conſiderable influence upon the whole, which makes her ſtand on *tip-toe*, looking down with diſdain upon all, as unable or unworthy to ſtand in competition with her *ſingle Selfe*. This conceit hath been much heightned by thoſe large *Contributions* thence, which have been the very *Sinews* of the *War* againſt the *Royall Party*; ſo that it's to be feared the Huge *Animal* having found its own ſtrength, may prove *Rampant*, and contemne the *Bridle*, unleſſe a little corrected by *Reaſon*.

Therefore I thinke meet to lay down theſe enſuing *conſiderations*.

Firſt, that what they have hitherto done, muſt not be look't upon as done by their own ſtrength and Riches, but only as theſe received an Authority of *Parliament* to give life unto the Action, without which (as then, ſo) all deſignes [now, or hereafter] muſt prove *abortive*.

Secondly, though the *Citizens* pretend *Religion* to be the only neceſſary *Appendix* to their *Trade*, by claſping both together with a *rigid Presby-*

tery,

tery, and ſuppoſe this the more pleaſing ſafe way, becauſe they are made beleeve it is *Divine*, yet if they pleaſe to looke more narrowly upon the *Scriptures* and the procedings of their *Prieſts*, they may learne the *Scope* of their *State-Divinity* is only to drive a *Trade* in the *Miniſtry* upon them and their *Eſtates*; which the *City* ſhal ſoone find, when the *Presbyterian Charter* is once confirmed *by Act of Parliament*.

Thirdly, if onely *even rekonings make long friends*, then it's like this hot love to a *Presbyterie* may end in a *Divorce* before the three yeares end, eſpecially when the *Accompts* ſhall be caſt up betwixt *Clergy* and *Laity*, that worm-eaten Reverend *Cheat* of *diſtinction* betwixt Brethren. It's true indeed, ſome of them ſhall be admitted to a partnerſhip in the *Tyranny*, and this is the very *De-coy* to allure them on, but uſually the *preaching* Presbyter ſwayes All, and he is a very ſilly one indeed that knowes not how to do it, ſince they either ſtand or fall according to his Report of their good *Complyance*, in the opinion of the generall *Aſſembly* [that *Holy* of *Holies*, where the *Lay-Vulgars* muſt not enter;] which *neat* contrivance of inviſible *Clock-worke*, will be ſure to have a *wheele* going in all affaires of the *Kingdome*.

But Fourthly, Suppoſe that the *Lay-Elders* themſelves ſhould have fair Play from the *Prieſts*, yet what comfort will that be to the reſt of the *Pariſh*, who muſt be in little better condition then *gally-ſlaves*, when the *Elderſhip* ſhall have an *Oare* in every *Boat*? And this appeares by the power given them to ſuſpend perſons from, and admit to the *Supper*, as they ſhall ſee cauſe according to an *Ordinance* in that behalfe: in which *Ordinance*, there being no leſs than 80. ſins enumerated (and an addition of many more ende avoured) any one of which upon *Conviction*, may include a man guilty, if they pleaſe to pronounce him: then it is cleare alſo, that ſince a man can hardly do any thing that comes not within the compaſs of thoſe *Sins*, all men muſt be irrefragably ſubject to their pleaſure in all their dealings, or elſe be delivered up to the *Devill* [forſooth] by *Excommunication*. Where then will *freedome* be in a *corrupt* Presbytery when the Citizens ſhall not dare to diſpoſe of their own *Eſtates*, nor weare *Clothes* as they pleaſe, nor manage their *Trades* to fructifie *per cent.* nor uſe an hundred other *fine feats*, without a friend or *feeling* in the *Elderſhip*? What will become of our *Lawyers* too, when it is an eaſie matter to make the ſame *Ordinance*, a *Shoing-horne* to draw on all *caſes*, depending betwixt man and man, into their owne *Conſiſtories*.

Fifthly, they may do well to conſider, that if they ſhal drive any other *Intereſt* than *Trade*, as their owne peculiar, which may intrench upon the *union of intereſts* before mentioned, or hinder them from uniting by under-propping the other *Party*, it's cleare then, that their power and greatneſs will be *ſuſpected*, and become odious to *Prince* and *People*: For, their *High Termes* already with the Parliament, and the eſtabliſhing of a *Militia* in their owne hands, *diſtinct* from the reſt of the Kingdome, makes *wiſe men* whiſper, as if they meant to found a new *Religious Democracie*, by reſolving the *Co-ordi-*

nations of power in the Lord *Major*, *Aldermen*, and *Common Councell* into a *popular Senate*.

Sixthly, I would have them consider that the *Jealousies* of *States and Princes* are great, and cannot brook any *Rivall*, nor will they judge themselves safe, as long as any one *Corporation* of *Subjects* make a shew of *Competition* in wealth and *power*. Nor can it be safe for *Subjects* to discover them too far in this way, lest they teach *Princes* to secure and inrich themselves by seizing upon * *Theirs*. What made the *Abbies* and *Monasteries* so lookt on, but only their great *Wealth*?

* *Facile est Baculum invenire, ut cædas Canem.*

And what was the main *Plea* to ruine them (as *Princes* (if possible) will have some coulour of *Law to* set off actions of this nature) but their holding vast possessions in their hands which could not passe from man to man so lay *dead* to the prejudice of the *Common-Wealth*? I wish the *City* to ponder, whether there be not the same *Reason* farr more pressing, against the unmeasurable *Revennes* of their *Halls* and severall *Companies*, those insatiable *Gulphs* which *swallow* up so great a part of the *Kingdome*: And whether their high *Raunting* may not bring on the same *Fate* hereafter, on the same ground, upon the first *tempting* opportunity.

Lastly, since their *Presbytery* is onely of the *World*, they may doe well to consider how it is like to thrive in the World, since so few even amongst *themselves* are willing to entertaine it, and the *Counties* abroad are some of them so wise, others so *cross-grain'd* to all *Novelty*: that they generally *detest* it: And therfore if it shallappeare that the *Citizens* are the men, which resolve to bandy against both *King* & *Independent* [whose *Interests* tend to a speedy honorable *Peace* & just Liberty] for the setling of that *government* in the *Church*, which neither we, nor our *Children* shal be able to beare, it's most certaine, that the *Odium* of a SECOND VVARR will reflect upon them, and the whole burden of *guilt* and *expence* rest upon their *shoulders*: And then they may guesse what the consequence will bee, when their *Purses* are exhausted and both the other *Parties* [carying the *Kingdome* before them] shall be forced into an unanimous *designe of revenge*, to scourge their *pride*, with such an *alteration* [if not *utter destruction*] as may verifie [perhaps] the *Fagg-end* of the old Prophesie, that YORK SHAL BE.

From all which I may summ up this *Conclusion*.

That the true *Interest* of the *City* is to coole by degrees toward a *Presbyterie* (not all at once, lest it be accounted *Levity*,) And in the mean time to stand *neutrall* so farr as not to make a *distinct party*, nor drive any *designe* at *Home* or at *Westminster*, by *hoisting* up *supernumerary Votes*, & pulling down all others with *Remonstrative* or *Petitionary Out-cries*, but to leave the *Presbyterian cause* to stand or fall, by *Reason* and *sober debate* in *Parliament*, that being the less look't upon in so *turbulent* a time, They may enjoy their *City* and *Possessions* without *Envy* and the shaken Kingdom [they keeping still] may have time to settle, and recover the pristine health and splendor of a glorious Monarchy.

O Cives, Cives, *quæ vos Dementia cepit,*
Tanti non est Civilia *bella movere.*

The *Interest* of *Scotland.*

THat which had been long endeavoured in *vaine* by severall *Kings*, being at length (through the prudence of *Henry* 7. effected, I meane the *Union* of both *Crownes* in the person of one *Prince*; King *Iames* willing (as much as might bee) to *burie* the remembrance of *dis-union* and *allay* the *deadly feuds* running *in a blond* betwixt the *borderers*, thought meet to *curtaile* his *title* of the usuall *distinct* names of *England* and *Scotland*; and as *both* made but one *Island*, so he comprised both in that one ancient *appellative* of *great Britain.*

This *Union* under a *native* King of *Scotland*, was an *happy* occasion for that *poore* Kingdom, to augment their *repute* and *fortunes*; and as in such *cases* it is usuall for the *lesse*, to drive a purchase upon the *greater*, by *closing in* as neare as *jealousie* will permit; so the *Scots* (inamoured of the *clusters* of our *Canaan*) lost no time in getting ground on this side *Jordan*, viz. *Tweed*, till many of them became possessors of *fair vineyards*, and were able to *vie* Lordships with our wealthiest *English*. To this height they *arrived* through the favour of that *King*, which drew many more into a desire of the *warmer Sun*, and an *emulation* of their *friends* happinesse here in *England.*

But toward the *latter* end of King *Iames*, the *passages* began to be *blockt up at* Court by the *Prelates* faction: who judged it dangerous for their *Hierarchie*, to see men of that *Nation* in too great a number & power, near hand, for fear lest the same *humor* which had depressed *Episcopall* pomp there, might in time have an *influence* here also; so that by this means not only the affections of King *Iames*, (whose ordinary *Apophthegme* was, no *Bishop*, no *King*) were a little *weaned*; but he being dead, the same *Counsells* prevailed upon the new *King*, his *Son* (one easily wrought any way to gratifie his *Clergy*) *to a dis-obliging* of the *Scots*: who seeing themselves now quite out of hope of *thriving* by the *Kings* favour; and knowing well upon what *ground*, and by whose *meanes* things were thus carried, concluded then there was no way to get into the *Nation*, but upon the *ruine* of our *Bishops*; which must necessarily follow, if they could introduce the *Presbiteriall* government, which *themselves* had received in *Scotland*: and this they found was no hard matter to *effect*, since there were *many* that way *affected* in *England*, and their *affections* highly *inflamed*, by reason of the *rigorous* dealing and *tyrannicall* pride of some *Clergy-men*, which rendred their whole *Order* and government, odious to the more *tender consciences*, & prepared the people (*hood-winkt*) to entertain any *change*, though to their own *prejudice.*

This being (on the *other* side) immediately resented by the *Bishops*, they judged it best to be *before-hand* with the *Scots*; and first (to try their *patience*, and Pick a *quarrel*, on purpose to *tame* them by *force*) a *new Liturgie* was contrived, sent, and *imposed* upon them; the *offer* whereof bred so much

indignation in the one *party*, as a *refuſall* did in the other (both glad enough of the *occaſion*,) that a *war* immediately enſued; wherein though the *King* were ingaged on the *Biſhops* part, yet the *Scots* got moſt of *Honour* and (the *war* being ended) much *money* and *reputation*, among their *friends* in *England*; which ſo *indeared* them, that a new *rupture* falling out betwixt *King* and *Parliament*, they had an eaſie *in-let* to build themſelves (with high *confidence*) a more ſure *intereſt* than ever, in this *Nation*; which was accompliſht by the mutuall ingagement of the *Parliaments* of each *Kingdom* to other (as *brethren*) in the firm *bond* of a *League* and *Covenant*.

By which *lant-skip* of diſcourſe it appeares, as the *Scots* have now attained the *pitch* of their *deſires*, by a *faſt foot* in the *fat ſoyle of England*, through *mutuall Covenanting*, (which hath been long a *contriving* and earneſtly ſtruggled for,) ſo they ought to proſecute the *Covenant* (the *vitals* of their *hope*) with all due reſpect, *tenderneſſe*, and *caution* (according to the *rationall* drift of it) toward the people of *England*, leſt their *proceedings* become odious, and *themſelves* be *kick'd off* again with diſdain and *enmity*.

Therefore I ſhall preſent them with a few *conſiderations*.

Firſt, let them be pleaſed to remember, that the people look upon them but as *inferiours*, and therefore muſt needs *ſwell* high with *indignation*, if they buſie themſelves over-much in the affaires of *England*, knowing in how high ſcorne it was taken, that they ſhould claime an *intereſt* (as once they had the boldneſſe to doe, in their *Papers* given into the *Parliament*) in *diſpoſals* of matters *meerly* relating to our *welfare*: And ſince all men know, that though they were admitted to ingage here (*neceſſity* ſo requiring it) as *equals* and *competitors* in the ſame *cauſe*, the *Kingdomes* being *ſuppoſed equally* involved in the ſame *common* danger; yet were they indeed but *Mercenaries*, in *pay* of the *Engliſh* Parliament, who might have had *Germans* or *Swiſſers* at the ſame *rate*, & (perhaps) no more *prejudice* to the *Country*.

Secondly, I muſt confeſſe, it behoves the *Scot predicant* (if poſſible) to ſee *Epiſcopacy* caſhiered root and branch, and their owne *form ſtated* here, in a ſure ſucceſſion: that ſo a *correſpondence* being cheriſhed between Clergy of the ſame *garb* and *humour*, in both *Countries*, they may freely *toſſe thunder-bolts of excommunication*, on both ſides, to gratifie each other, and ſo be able to terrifie all *Lords* and *Gentry*, that dare be *averſe* in either *Kingdome*, and *promote* ſuch onely to *places of truſt*, whoſe *poorer* ſpirits will vaſſallize their *Birth* and *Genius* to ſerve their ends. And I confeſſe, it behoves ſuch *great ones*, as have already *link'd* themſelves in *deſign* with the *Clergie*, to ſtick cloſe to them a while, for their owne *credit* and *ſecurity*, except they can handſomly retreat with *ſpeed*; yet both *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Gentry of this *gang*, may conſider that ſuch a *courſe* cannot ſtand long in *England*; where being *Myriads* of more *generous* ſoules than in *Scotland*, they muſt alwaies expect a *flying out* into any extrems, that yeeld the leaſt hope of an advantage to *throw their riders*.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, if the *Scots* plead *conſcience* for *extirping* the Government by *Biſhops*, as bound thereto by *Covenant*; yet ſeeing *Biſhop* is every jot as *wholſome* a word, and as much *Scripturall* as *Presbyter*, and that our weaker *Brethren* in *England* are *wedded* to that Forme, as more tolerable than any other, and more *ſutable* to the *Lawes* and *Conſtitution* of the *Monarchie*; I ſuppoſe, that the admiſſion of a *Biſhop mortified*, *regulated*, and *pruned* of his *ſuperfluities*, will no whit claſh with the ſenſe of the *Covenant*: For it is plaine, that the *ſcope* of it is not againſt *Biſhop* in the *Abſtract*, but in the *Concrete*, as laden with an *accumulation* of *Deanes*, *Deanes* and *Chapters*, *Prebends*, *Chancellours*, *Commiſſaries*, &c. though if theſe alſo were *admitted* again, as I cannot ſee how they may be well *refuſed*, yet the *Scots* (for their part) and thoſe of their *party* here in *England*, having endeavoured their utmoſt to *extirp* it, they have done all that the *Covenant* requires, though it be not effected. But ſeeing moſt in *England* will not be content without it, and nothing but another *Conqueſt* can *force* any other upon them, me think *rationall* men ſhould ſit down content with a diſcharge of their conſciences, in having ſeriouſly *endeavoured* the *extirping* it to their power (further then which the *Covenant* doth not binde them,) rather then aime at an *impoſſibility* in *reaſon*, or venture a *ſad ſcore* upon *conſcience*, in imbroyling two *Kingdomes* again, to an inevitable ruine of a *third*; which can never be juſtified from *Scripture*, in the behalf of *Principles of Faith*, which are the *ſubſtance* of *Religion*, much leſſe upon point of *Diſciplin*, which is but the *ſhadow*.

Fourthly, if a *deſigne* be followed, to force their Government upon this *Kingdome*, ſo generally deteſted by *reaſonable* men, the *war* cannot poſſibly bee *long-liv'd* here, where the *thing* contended for is ſo ill *befriended*, but muſt of *neceſſity*, be tranſlated toward *Scotland*, where it had its *Originall*: And though the *Scots* need not feare, being valiant enough, and having one *advantage* above all other men, in poſſeſſing *little* that may *invite* men to a conqueſt; yet it will be *chaſtiſement* enough to be beaten home, & kept there from their uſuall way of thriving, by *intercourſe with England*.

Fifthly, ſince that their *Presbyterie* is more of the *World*, and ſo like to be more *troubleſome* to it than *Epiſcopacy*, it will bee an *occaſion* to the *Engliſh*, to *prye* into the *grounds* of the *Scots* ſo earneſt *preſſing* that *government* upon them: and finding by the *Proeme* of this particular *draught* (which *wiſe obſerving* men cannot be ignorant of) that *wordly* reſpects firſt made them bring it in hither, the greater part of men here (which are *worldly*) will endeavour to preſerve themſelves againſt all ſuch *worldly incroachments* under *pretence* of *Religion*: and though it be preſented in a new *dreſſe*, called *Reformation*; yet ſince it muſt prove no other, than an *Aſſaſſination* of the *Monarchie*, and a *Reducing* of the old *Privado's* which *oppreſſed* us at *Court* to *overwhelm* us with *new* ones quite throughout the *Kingdom*, it is like that the love of *kingly* Government (ſo ſurely imprinted in this *Nation*, and *jealouſie* of *Liberty*, will render men *implacable*

to

...that keep a hand in a *rigid Presbyterie*, & *urge* them to apply *desperate* remedies to be *cured* of it, as the grand *canker-worme* of our *English* interest.

Sixthly, to *designe* that upon a people which their *constitutions* will not beare, ordinary *Braines* must conceive can have no *ground* in *policie*, unlesse there be some certainty which way to *master* them: and therfore the *Scots* and their *favorites* may do well to consider, how they can go *through stitch* with the busines against a generous people, impatient of the *yoake*. It is not in *England* as in *Scotland*, where men are *poore*, and so the more easily *inslaved*, and led about to serve the *ends* of the *Grandees* amongst them; but being *rich* and *sensible* of their *freedomes*, will entertain no more here from the *perswasions* of men, than what they can make *visible* by *reason*, as conducing to the *generall good*; so that the *ground-work* of all actions must be laid, according to the peoples *inclination*, and not the *faction* of particular men, be they never so potent in *wealth*, or *wisedome*. By this *rule* they may judge, what their *friends* are able to doe for the *Presbyterian cause* in *England*.

Lastly, since most men *un-interrested* that way are of a contrary mind, I wish them to *consider*, that if by *striving against the streame*, they lose their *hold* now, it can never be recovered again upon the same pretence, and (perhaps) many ages will hardly afford the like; and therefore if the *Scots* shall proceed to *screw* themselves in by their *engineers* of the *Clergy* (more *Lordly* already then the former) to the oppression of *Episcopall* and* *Independent consciences*, and indeavour to found *them* with an *Antichristian* power, upon the *blood* of both *Countries*, by a *new war*, the *ancient Antipathy* must needs *revive*, and bee reared againe (like *Adrian's* wall) as a perpetuall *Barr* betwixt the *Nations*.

*Loquor ad sensum vulgi.

From whence I may conclude, the *case* thus standing; that the only *interest* of the *Scots* is, to preserve themselves in the *opinion* of the *people* of *England*, by a *moderate* and *faire construction* of the *Covenant*, in behalfe of a *Presbytery*; which being by *Covenant* to be judged according to the *word of God*, they have the lesse reason to stand for their own *way* here, because they take *little* besides the bare *name* of *Presbytery* out of the *word*, and so having no pretence to found a *quarrell*, but only upon some parcels of the *letter* of the *Covenant*, I see no reason they have to be angry, if the *English* give them leave to inioy *their* owne in peace at home, and in the meane time take leave to settle things here, for the good of this *State* in *Church Government*, as they judge answerable to their *principles*, (according to the *Word*) whereupon they apprehend the *Covenant* was first *intended*, *framed* and *founded*. And so the heat of *controversie* being laid by, a *brotherly condescension* on both sides, in matter of *religious* concernment, the *peace* and *union*, in all *civill* respects, may be established, and kept *inviolable* betwixt the *Kingdoms*.

Dirue, & edifica, muta quadrata rotundis.

FINIS.